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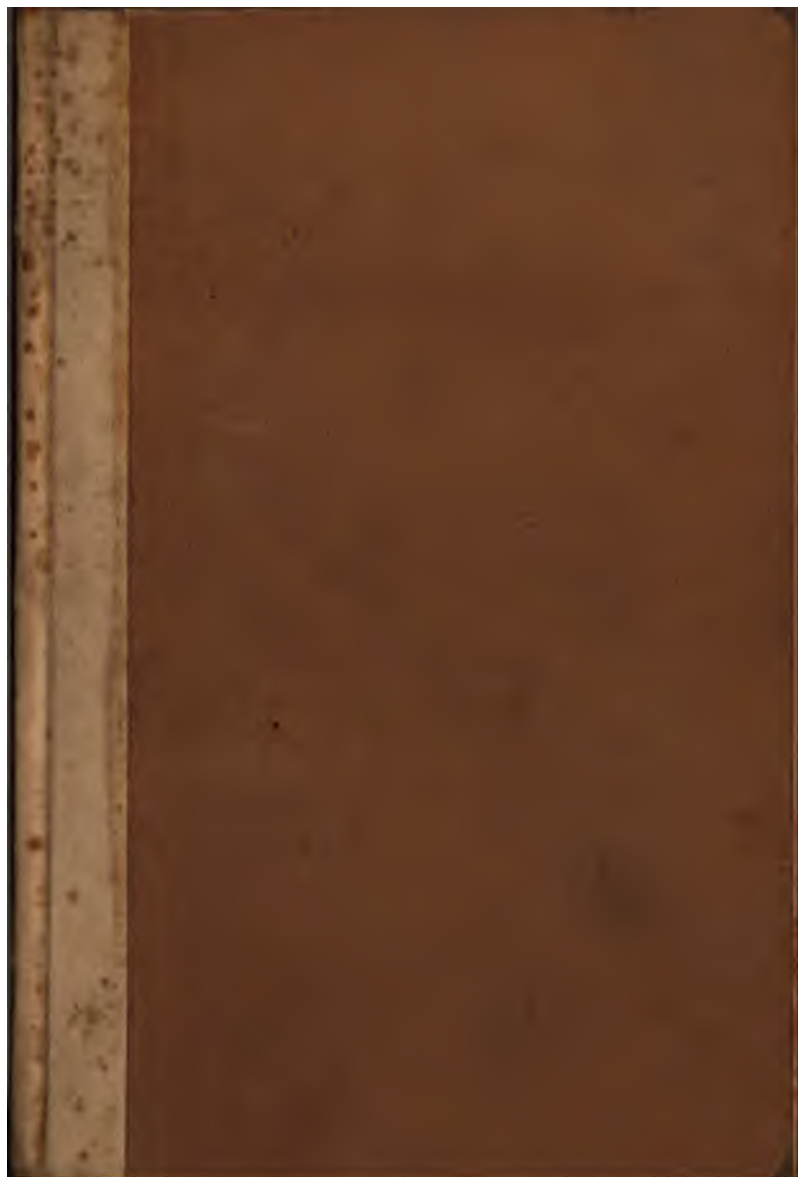
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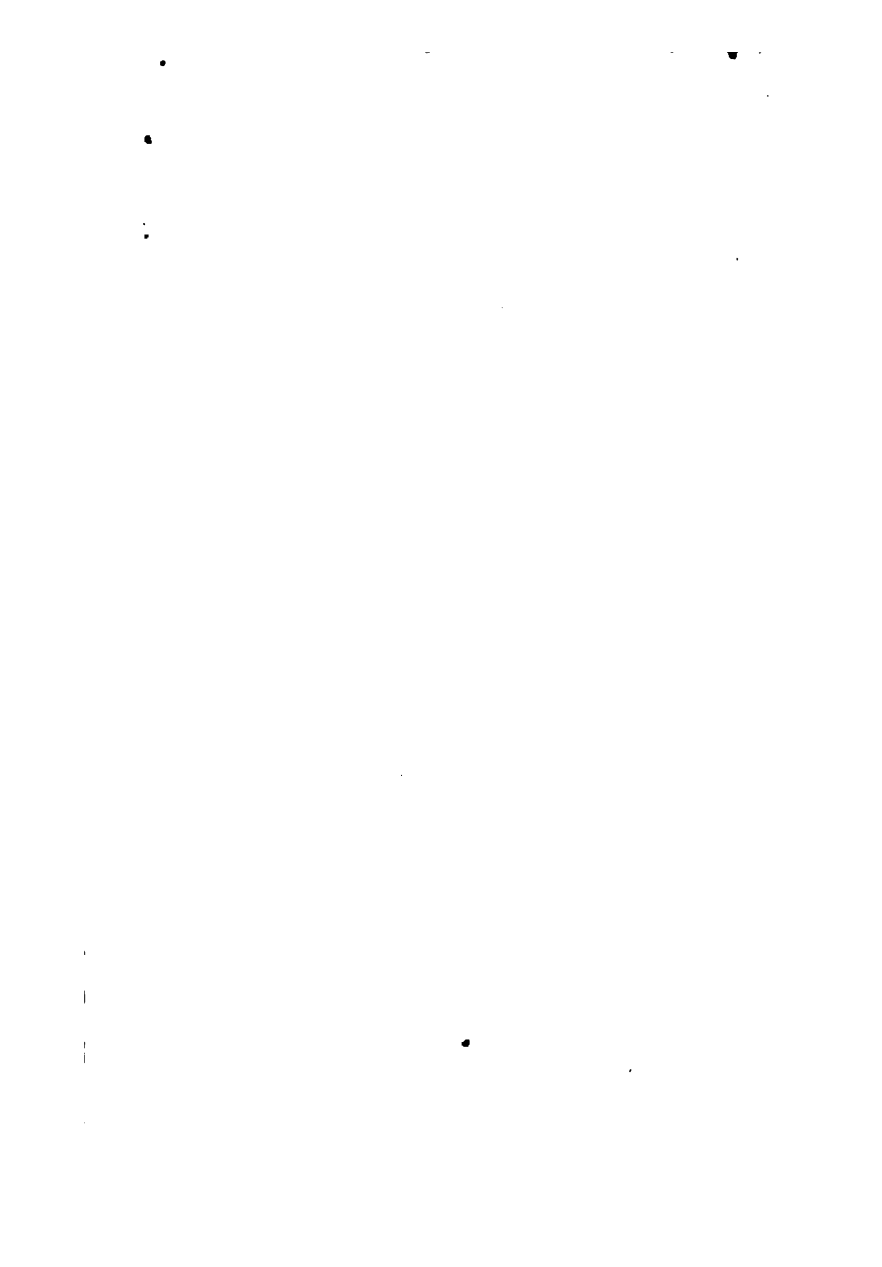
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The first part of the document discusses the current state of affairs in the region. It highlights the challenges faced by the local population, particularly in terms of economic development and social stability. The authors argue that these issues are interconnected and require a comprehensive approach to address them. They propose several key areas for focus, including infrastructure development, education, and healthcare. The text emphasizes the need for government intervention and support, as well as active participation from the private sector and civil society. The authors also discuss the importance of fostering a sense of community and shared responsibility among the people. The second part of the document provides a detailed analysis of the regional economy. It examines the various sectors, such as agriculture, manufacturing, and services, and their contributions to the overall economic growth. The authors identify the strengths and weaknesses of each sector and offer recommendations for improvement. They also discuss the impact of external factors, such as global market trends and trade agreements, on the regional economy. The text concludes by summarizing the main findings and reiterating the authors' call for action. They stress that the future of the region lies in the hands of its people and their leaders, and that a concerted effort is needed to overcome the current challenges and build a brighter future.

In conclusion, the document provides a thorough overview of the regional situation and offers practical suggestions for addressing the identified issues. The authors believe that the proposed strategies are feasible and effective, and they encourage all stakeholders to work together to implement them. They also express their confidence in the potential of the region to overcome its current challenges and achieve sustainable development. The document is intended to serve as a guide for policymakers, government officials, and the general public alike. It is hoped that it will contribute to a better understanding of the regional situation and inspire the necessary actions to bring about positive change. The authors thank the many individuals and organizations that provided support and information during the course of their research. They also acknowledge the limitations of the study and the need for further research in certain areas. Finally, they express their hope that the document will be well-received and that it will have a positive impact on the region's development.



THE LIMITS OF ¹⁷⁴
THE ROYAL SUPREMACY

IN THE

Church of England

BY

BISHOP ANDREWES

AND

KING JAMES I.

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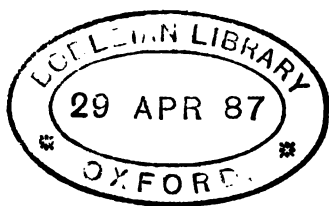
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PREFACE

TO THE FIRST EDITION.

THE following short treatise contains the deliberate judgment of the most devout and learned of English Bishops on the rights enjoyed by the King in virtue of the Royal Supremacy, and the limits within which those rights are restrained. Every sentence in the book from which it is taken—the *Tortura Torti*, which was written in reply to attacks made on the Church of England by Cardinal Bellarmine—was examined and discussed by James the First before its publication. The following pages, therefore, may be said to express the sentiments of the King as well as of the Prelate.

The treatise has never yet been published in

English. At the present time, when men's minds are in a state of excitement and perplexity on the question of the rights and duties of the Church and of the State towards each other, the arguments and authority of Bishop Andrewes may be of assistance to those among us who desire loyally to give to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and as loyally to God the things that are God's.

F. M.

March, 1877.

THE ROYAL SUPREMACY.

I WILL compress into a few words a statement of what we mean by the words "Royal Supremacy," and what we consider to be the rights of the King in virtue of this supremacy, so that I may not have to return to the question again ; and when we have come to an understanding on the point, your calumnious charges—and they are not yours only—may be silenced, as you will have to confess that they are not applicable to any supremacy that we have or acknowledge, but only to one which is an invention of your own.

First, the King is not bringing a new Papacy into the Church under the name of Supremacy, for he is assured that neither Jeroboam the King¹ nor Aaron the High Priest² had the right of setting up the calf that they had made as an object of worship for the people ; that is, neither King nor Priest may make new articles of faith or new forms of divine worship.³

¹ 1 Kings xii. 28.

² Exod. xxxii. 4.

³ "Do you charge us with introducing new opinions?"

6 *Limits of the Royal Supremacy*

Neither does the King demand for himself, or allow to be attributed to him, the power of offering incense¹ with Uzziah,² or of touching the ark with Uzzah,³ as you are constantly declaring that he does, with an idea of creating odium against us.

He does not assume that office of teaching which you are constantly prating about, and which

Nay, I tell you if they are new, they are not ours. Our appeal is to the ancients, to the uttermost antiquity. The newer a thing is the less we like it, the less new that it is so much the more it is acceptable to us. Those words of our Saviour, 'From the beginning it was so,' are specially pleasant to our ears. Why, we have no more received definition of heresy than a contravention of the three old Creeds, or of the four old General Councils. Is not this to hate new opinions? We innovate in nothing, though perhaps we restore what existed among the ancients, which you have exchanged for novelties. . . . If you do keep anything that is old, it has been so interpolated by you that it would not be recognised by one of the ancients if he were to come to life again. A man would lose his labour who should look for the old Roman Church in the Roman Church that you have to-day." (*Tortura Torti*, p. 96, Oxf. 1854.)

¹ "We do not give to the King what belongs to the priest's office. We do not allow him to burn incense, nor to do that which was then typified by burning incense. How constantly you are bringing this up, and how irrelevant it is! You ought to be ashamed of your interminable cuckoo-cry. Once for all hear what we say about it. We do not give to the King the power which Uzziah aimed at exercising, but only that which Josiah had. It is the Supremacy of Josiah, not of Uzziah, that we defend." (*Ibid.* p. 450.)

² 2 Chron. xxvi. 16.

³ 2 Sam. vi. 6.

you say is a part of the office of the chief priest. He does not pretend to the right of preaching, or of officiating in things sacred, or of celebrating the sacraments, or of consecrating persons or things, nor does he claim the authority of the keys, or of excommunication. In a word, he does not hold that anything appertaining to the sacerdotal office, or consequent upon the power of orders, belongs to him, and we should be shocked at the thought of attributing it to him.¹ This is nothing but a calumny of yours, made up with the view of bringing odium on the King for arrogating such power to himself,² and upon us for allowing him such powers. The King will have none of it: he pushes it away from himself.

But he claims his right of giving injunctions in matters which belong to *the external government* of

¹ "As to the function of preaching, or handling the sacred mysteries, or any other ecclesiastical function, she (Elizabeth) never stretched a finger towards them, and we should be shocked at the thought of a Queen or King laying a finger upon them. Not one of them has ever claimed such a right, whatever nonsense may have been talked on the subject by that beautiful witness of yours, Sanders, the most mendacious of mortals, who dared to bring a calumnious charge against the Queen as having made an attempt in that direction." (*Tortura Torti*, p. 176.)

² "Neither our King nor any other King is allowed to minister in sacred things, or to handle anything which belongs to the merely sacerdotal power, such as liturgies, sermons, keys, sacraments." (*Ibid.* p. 449.)

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the Church, ay, and we are glad to acknowledge his claim as just ; for we hold that the care of religion does not belong to the priest only, but also to the King,¹ and that it is one of the King's first duties ; for we believe it to be the King's business not only to protect religion from the violence of enemies without, but also to guard it from the consequences of neglect within. You are ready enough to cry out for the help of the King in the face of threatened violence : he thinks that the King is just as much needed when discipline has been lost.

For the law of God makes the King the guardian and assertor of the first table of the commandments as much as of the second,² and therefore he holds that he ought to have a care, yes, and a first care, of the first table ; and as every soul is commanded to be subject to him,³ he thinks it his duty to take an interest in men's souls even more than, and in preference to, their bodies.

Shall I tell you what these matters of external government are, one by one ? They are these : the King claims the right and power of doing whatever the Kings of Israel did without blame in matters of religion ; such as, enacting laws by Royal

¹ " And he may give injunctions and make provision for the welfare of religion just as much as any other Christian King." (*Ibid.* p. 176.)

² Deut. xvii. 18 ; Josh. i. 8.

³ Rom. xiii. 1.

authority against blasphemy (you will not deny that this is right—the King of Babylon did it¹), appointing an occasional feast-day (the King of Nineveh did so²), or a thanksgiving day (as Esther did when the feast of Purim was instituted,³ and Maccabæus when the feast of the Dedication was established⁴); and he conceives that he may legislate on all those matters on which Constantine, Theodosius, Justinian, and Charles the Great legislated in the Codex, the Authentics, and the Capitularies.⁵

Then he claims the right of delegating judges⁶ to decide cases under the laws which have been thus made, as Jehoshaphat did,⁷ and of binding his subjects by an oath not to transgress them, as Asa⁸

¹ Dan. iii. 29.

² Jon. iii. 7.

³ Esth. ix. 26.

⁴ 1 Mac. iv. 56-59.

⁵ See *Codex Theodosianus*, Lugd. 1665; *Codex Justinianus* in the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, Paris, 1627; *Caroli Magni Opera* in Migne's *Patrologia*, tom. xcvi. xcvi.

⁶ The word *delegating* is used in allusion to the Court of Delegates.

⁷ 2 Chron. xix. 8. "We are told in the eighth verse that of his royal authority 'He set up the Levites and the Priests, and of the chief of the fathers of Israel, for the judgment of the Lord, and for controversies in Jerusalem.' What greater proof of authority can you have than that of appointing, delegating judges for sacred causes? . . . And the same king set the chief priest to preside over those whom (as in the eighth verse) he had constituted judges." (*Tortura Torti*, p. 447.)

⁸ 2 Chron. xv. 14.

and Josiah¹ did, and of punishing by the royal authority any found guilty of breaking the laws, although the question be a religious one, whether it be a charge of following a false prophet,² or of idolatry,³ or of blasphemy,⁴ or of sacrilege.⁵

He claims the right of calling Assemblies by his authority, even if the question under deliberation be that of bringing back the ark again, and putting it in its place as David did,⁶ or that of recovering the people again to the worship of God as Jehoshaphat did,⁷ or that of dedicating the temple as Solomon did,⁸ or of repairing the house of the Lord as Joash did,⁹ or of purifying it after it had been polluted as Hezekiah did.¹⁰

He is assured that God did not for nothing command the King "to write him a copy of the law to be with him, and that he may read therein,"¹¹ "that he may meditate therein day and night,"¹² and learn from it the manner of conducting the worship of God even to its ceremonial; and he is convinced that the King is not required to depend wholly on

¹ 2 Chron. xxxiv. 32.

² Deut. xiii. 10.

³ Deut. xiii. 15.

⁴ Levit. xxiv. 23.

⁵ Numb. xv. 35.

⁶ 1 Chron. xiii. 3. "Kings may put the ark in its place, but after that it must be 'touched' by those whose office as ministers it is to touch it." (*Tortura Torti*, p. 449.)

⁷ 2 Chron. xix. 4.

⁸ 1 Kings viii. 64.

⁹ 2 Chron. xxiv. 4.

¹⁰ 2 Chron. xxix. 5.

¹¹ Deut. xvii. 18.

¹² Joshua i. 8.

the mouth of another and have no judgment at all of his own, but nevertheless in religious matters he will right willingly "take counsel of the mouth of Eleazar,"¹ and "seek the law at the mouth of those whose lips keep knowledge,"² and in ecclesiastical legislation he will employ those who ought to be employed, and whom it is reasonable to employ—the men who are most learned in those matters, and capable of giving the best answers about them, and in things pertaining to God he will order Amariah the priest, not Zebadiah the ruler, to be set over them.³

In respect to Persons, the King claims the right of enunciating the law for all persons of all orders, for (to speak Scripture language) he is head of the

¹ Numb. xxvii. 21.

² Malachi i. 7.

³ 2 Chron. xix. 11. "King Jehoshaphat gave to each his separate province: to Zebadiah the ruler, political cases; to Amariah the priest, religious cases. And thus he showed that religious as well as political causes are matters for the King's care, as the King could, by his authority and royal right, bring back the people to the worship of God, and then appoint judges, and divide the cases between the judges, and determine who should preside and for what causes. Church and State ought to be united, not confounded. As they have different causes so they ought to have different courts, but they must be under the King in either case, for it is by the King's authority that the judges sit, and that Amariah presides here, Zebadiah there: each takes cognisance of the cases belonging to his own court, but they act by the command of the King, so that in either case the old saying holds good, 'If you are judge, try the cause: if you are King, order that it be tried.'" (*Tortura Torti*, p. 447.)

tribe of Levi no less than of the other tribes,¹ the King of the clergy as much as of the laity;² and he holds that he has the duty of restraining by his decree all who "do presumptuously" against Abiathar,³ and even of "thrusting out" Abiathar himself from the office of high priest if he so deserves.⁴

¹ 1 Sam. xv. 17.

² "Whether it be a King or a Queen makes no difference—the Prince has the chief government over his subjects, whether they are of the Church or of the State—whether they are (as the expression is) spiritual persons or temporal." (*Tortura Torti*, p. 176.)

"We consider the Supremacy to consist in governing, not in teaching; and we call the King the Chief Governor, not the Chief Doctor; and so the rival claims of King and Chief Priest may be reconciled: the priest may be chief in the function of teaching, which properly belongs to his Supremacy, the King in that of governing, which is all that he claims as his own, and he will never invade the priestly function of teaching. . . . If disobedience is shown to the priest, where will he deal with the disobedient man, and before whom will he bring him to trial? Who will give sentence and inflict punishment? Someone will, and whoever that is, him I hold to be supreme." (*Ibid.* p. 454.)

³ Deut. xvii. 12.

⁴ 1 Kings ii. 27. "It belongs to the King to thrust out the Chief Priest, if his ill deserts require it, and to substitute Zadok for Abiathar. That, I should suppose, tells for the King's supremacy. . . . According to Bellarmine, Solomon was a sinner, and Zadok an intruder, and Abiathar a holy confessor, rather than the King shall have his supremacy! . . . These words, 'Get thee unto thine own fields, for thou art worthy of death, but I will not put thee to death,' are the words of a King, not of a prophet. To exile men, and to give men their life when they are condemned to death, to

In respect to Things, the King claims the right of "casting down high things," that is, of abolishing foreign forms of worship,¹ and of breaking to pieces the golden calf made by Aaron, as Moses did,² and not only that, but also the brazen serpent which was set up by Moses, as Hezekiah did ;³ and if the

change capital punishment into the milder punishment of deposition, are kingly acts : a prophet cannot do that. In short, by the same power with which he put Benaiah over the host in the room of Joab he put Zadok in the room of Abiathar over the priesthood (1 Kings ii. 35), that is, by the kingly power in both cases." (*Tortura Torti*, p. 456.)

¹ "When King Josiah had found the book of the law and read it, he consulted a prophetess about its meaning (not the high priest), and without waiting for a declaration of the Church, he called a convocation and desired the book to be read in it, and then formed a new covenant with the Lord, and he made all the people enter into the covenant. Then he desired the high priest, and the rest of the priests of the second order, to bring forth out of the temple of the Lord and burn all the vessels that were made for Baal, in order that 'high things might be cast down.' After that he ordered a new passover to be kept, and an entire reformation of religion to be made. . . . I suppose that calling convocations, making a religious covenant, abolishing strange worship, and restoring the true worship by his command, are spiritual and ecclesiastical matters. Seeing that in all these things the King enjoins and the high priest obeys, has it no bearing on the Royal Supremacy? Very much, I doubt not. We ask for no other supremacy than that of Josiah : we defend no other." (*Ibid.* p. 451.)

² Exod. xxxii. 20.

³ 2 Kings xviii. 4. "It belongs to the King to go into the very Temple, and there break to pieces the brazen serpent which Moses had made, when the serpent had led to supersti-

golden calf leads to idolatry, or the brazen serpent to superstition, of doing away with both.

As to things which concern merely the beautifying of God's house, such as are generally called things indifferent, even you do not deny that the King has a right to order them, and to restrain by his authority foolish and useless questions which are generally the material out of which schisms spring : Joash did the first,¹ Constantine the second.²

Lastly, if you prefer a Christian to an Israelitish model, the King claims to be ἐπίσκοπος τῶν ἐκτός, as Constantine did,³ and to be *Rector religionis*, as Charles the Great and Lewis the Pious did.⁴

tion, and the people burnt incense to it, as you do every day to your images. If the King can by his own authority as King cut off superstition which the priests themselves tolerate, and have for a long time tolerated ; if they may break to pieces brazen serpents made by Moses, made by the command of God Himself and the type of Christ, after they have become abused, such Royal authority as that will not be far off from a Supremacy, if it may thus reach into the Temple, and thus deal with matters so ecclesiastical as these. . . . This is a way in which Kings may be God's servants by correcting things, and, if necessary, reducing them to dust ; and thus it is that they have their Supremacy not only over *persons* but also in *things*." (*Tortura Torti*, p. 452.)

¹ 2 Chron. xxiv. 11.

² See *Constantini Epist. ad Alexandr. et Arium* ; *Socr. Hist. Eccles.* lib. i. cap. 7, p. 16.

³ See Eusebius *De Vita Constantini*, lib. iv. cap. 24, p. 638.

⁴ "Carolo Augusto, veræ religionis rectori ac defensori sanctæ Dei Ecclesiæ, vita et salus." (*Conc. Mogunt. primum*, sub Carolo Magno, in Præfat. ; Labbe et Coss. tom. vii. col.

These are the rights of the Supremacy which we admit, and they are derived from the Divine law. All the rest are chimæras of your own, with which, if you please, pray engage in a *σκιαμαχία*, but remember that they are shadows of your own creation. Those assaults of yours do not touch us—they only amuse the reader, or make him angry, according to his humour.¹

1248.) “Regi Ludovico, veræ religionis strenuissimo rectori ac defensori sanctæ Dei Ecclesiæ, vita et salus.” (*Conc. Mogunt. secundum*, in Præfat. ; Labbe et Coss. tom. viii. col. 39.)

¹ “The question is, whether the King may have the government of the Church. Well, if the King may appoint judges in Church causes (2 Chron. xix. 8), and determine who shall preside over those judges (*Ibid.* 11), and do away with abuses and corruptions in religion (2 Chron. xxiv. 4), and bring back the ark and make the arrangements necessary for bringing it back (1 Chron. xiii. 3), and dedicate temples and call assemblies for the purpose of doing so (1 Kings viii. 64), and after the reciting of the book of the law give orders to the high priest to cleanse the worship of God from its defilements (2 Kings xxiii. 4), and make a covenant afresh for the reformation of religion (*Ibid.* 3 ; Nehem. ix. 38), and go into the Temple and break the brazen serpent (2 Kings xviii. 4), and send priests on missions (2 Chron. xvii. 8), and dismiss the chief priest so that he be no more high priest (1 Kings ii. 27) —if he may do all this, the government belongs to him. For how nearly do these things form the whole of such government ! Hardly a point is wanting. Let the King do these things that I have enumerated, and he will want no more to make up his Supremacy. As to the function of teaching and the explication of doubtful points in the divine law, no question was raised among the Jews between king and priest, and none is raised among us.” (*Tortura Torti*, p. 457.)

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